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FIVE CENTS

# The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1919

*Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender*

## Thirty-one More Days

# National Woman's Party

*(Incorporated, 1918)*

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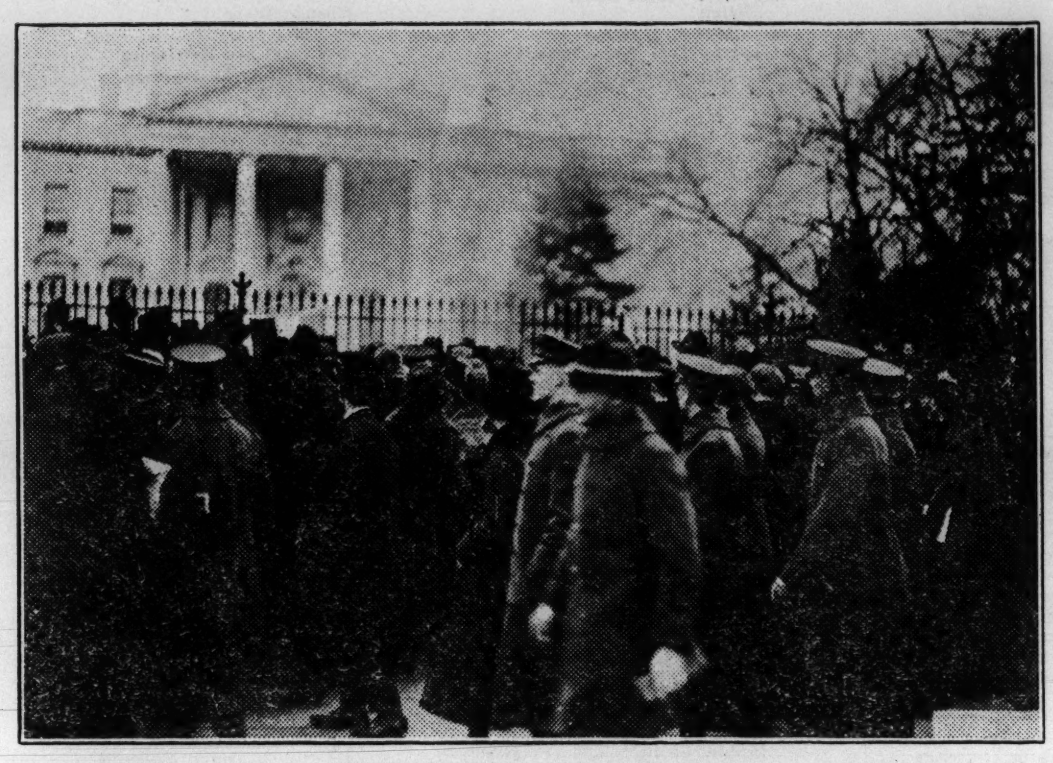

The Watchfire at the White House

AT four o'clock on Monday afternoon, while the sun streamed down through the trees about the White House, six more suffragists left the headquarters of the National Woman's Party with banners of purple, white and gold flying in the golden light and again started a watchfire opposite the entrance of the White House.

Within a few minutes the United States Park Police had rushed across Lafayette Square and had arrested all six of the women on a charge of starting a fire after sundown. As the prisoners were marched off the crowd cheered them lustily and the sun still streamed down in vindication of the World's Almanac which only a week ago proved conclusively to the police court of Washington, D. C., that sundown in the District occurs once each day at 4:58 by the clock.

The fire was kindled this time with pine knots and birch bark brought from the woods of Minnesota by a delegation of women sent from that state to protest against the delay of the federal suffrage amendment and to demand immediate action from the Administration.

Mrs. Bertha Moller of Minneapolis, explained again to the crowd that gathered on its way home from government offices, why the women of America are not satisfied with mere words from the President so long as he has the opportunity as leader of the party in power to win suffrage in this country. Men and women applauded her talk and protested against the arrests as the police dragged the women away.

Ten policemen had been sent to make arrests, however, and so while the sun poured down they marched six women off to the police station. The fire flamed on through the afternoon and into the dusk, but policemen made no attempt to put it out. Six women had been arrested for starting the fire; their responsibilities were ended.

In the group arrested were Mrs. Moller, secretary of the Minnesota Branch of the National Woman's Party, who has been associated with educational work in Minnesota, and who has two uncles in the Swedish parliament, where full political rights are granted women; Miss Gertrude Murphy, superintendent of music in the graded schools of Minneapolis; Miss Rhoda Kellog, president of the Equal Suffrage Club of the University of Minnesota; Mrs. Mary Carol Dowell, of Philadelphia, former membership chairman of the Pennsylvania Branch of the National Woman's Party; Miss Martha Moore, of Philadelphia, formerly visitor of the Children's Aid Society of Philadelphia, and Miss Katherine Magee, of Wilmington, Delaware.

They were tried in the federal court on the following day and were sentenced by Judge McMahon to serve five days each in the District jail for "kindling fires after sunset."

They all began a hunger-strike at once as a protest against their imprisonment, and to secure the rights of political prisoners.

WHILE Judge McMahon was sentencing these women to prison for asking for freedom in this country, two other suffragists, Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, of Jacksonville, Florida, and Miss Bertha Arnold, of Colorado Springs, were starting another watchfire in front of the White House.

Mrs. Nolan is the oldest suffrage picket and the oldest watcher of the fires. As this slight and white-haired woman of over eighty years, in silent indignation, cast into the flames the words spoken by President Wilson at the luncheon given him by the French Senate, the throng of Washington workers stood by saying nothing. The flames snatched up the President's words "All sons of freedom are under oath to see that freedom never suffers . . . ," and a whole body guard of police dashed forward to arrest the woman who has waited all these years for freedom. A wave of protest came from the crowd; the policemen hesitated, but finally one of them true to his duty as United States Park Police, followed his orders and respectfully placed her under arrest. As he marched her off, cheers went up from all parts of the crowd, but already they were watching the arrest of Miss Arnold, one of the youngest suffragists of the Woman's Party. Miss Arnold, who was sent to Washington to represent her state, has helped organize in Florida and in New Hampshire and has picketed the Senate Office Building. She is the daughter of a prominent physician in Colorado Springs.

The two suffragists were taken to the police station where bail of $40 was demanded from each for their appearance in court on the next day at one o'clock.

ACCORDING to orders they appeared in court on Wednesday at one o'clock, where they were informed that the Court had suddenly decided to call their case at ten that morning; that the Court thereupon had duly called their names; that the Court had found to his surprise that they were not there to answer, and that the Court thereupon had announced that their bail was forfeited.

The written order demanding the appearance of the prisoners at one o'clock was then submitted to "his honor." His honor examined the order of the Court; his honor took the situation under consideration, and then his honor, having carefully digested the situation, postponed the case till next Monday at "one o'clock."

In the meantime, Mrs. Phoebe Munnecke, of Detroit, Mich., has organized a committee to provide some of the necessary comforts denied suffrage prisoners in jail, and to make every attempt to get these things to them, in spite of the fact that the jail superintendent, Mr. Zinkham, has persistently refused to allow anything to be sent into his jail.

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# Welcoming Suffrage Prisoners Home

**Carrying Suffragists into Headquarters on Stretchers from Ambulance on their Release from Jail**

WOMEN of the East, the South and the West are showing their indignation over the attitude of the Administration toward suffragists who have asked for political freedom, by holding mass meetings of protest and meetings of welcome for the returning prisoners.

In Bridgeport last Saturday a large meeting of about six thousand men and women who have been working in the past three years in munitions factories, passed resolutions protesting against the imprisonment of women who are asking for the freedom for which this country has been fighting in Europe, and demanded that the two Connecticut Senators vote for the federal suffrage amendment. They also sent a cable to the President demanding immediate action on the amendment.

In all parts of Connecticut meetings have been held in the past week in honor of Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, of Hartford, and in honor of the five munitions workers who have served sentences in the District of Columbia Jail.

A welcome luncheon upon their release from jail was given in Philadelphia last week in honor of Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Mrs. Edmund C. Evans, of Pennsylvania, at which the principal speaker was Miss Margaret Whittemore, of Detroit. Mrs. Evans and Mrs. Lewis spoke about their experiences in jail.

## Speech by Mrs. Edmund Evans at Welcome Luncheon in Philadelphia

DURING the war, the song "Keep the home fires burning" was sung everywhere. Little children, soldiers, sailors, patriotic societies, in fact, the whole nation was singing it. But when the National Woman's Party, believing in deeds and not words, actually started the Home Fires burning, a storm of criticism and protest descended upon their heads, followed by arrests and jail sentences.

These arrests and jail sentences are as usual, illegal, for according to advice from our attorney, we are violating no law. Is it not rather the members of the United States Senate who should be arrested, for they are violating the great law of justice by their failure to pass the federal suffrage amendment?

Members of the National Woman's Party go to jail so joyously and willingly for their cause that some of our friends, as well as our critics, fail to realize the sacrifice involved. The women who have been imprisoned have had to struggle not only against the physical discomforts of jail life, but also against mental suffering.

On the physical side are the entire lack of fresh air, the filth found everywhere, the want of food and sleep and the vermin in the jail.

A dead mouse was discovered in the drain and one night we heard the shrieks of the prisoners and the squeals of the rats which were attacking them. We asked one of the colored prisoners about the rats. She said, "Honey, there are so many of them that you can hear their feet runnin' up and down stairs like little childrens."

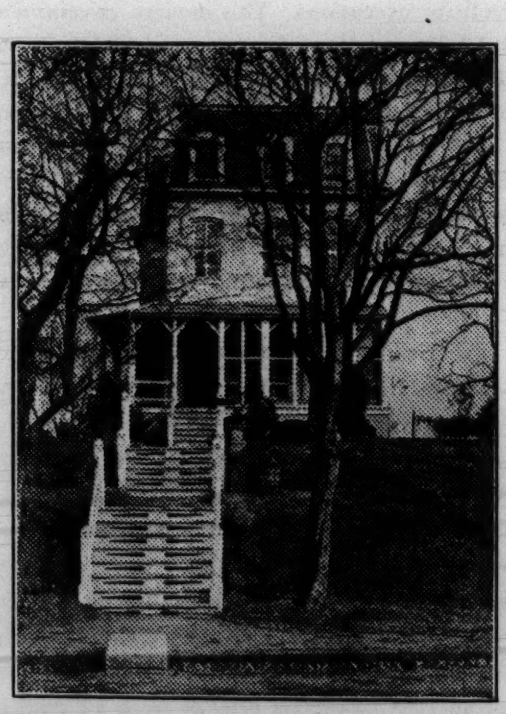
The mental suffering comes from the fact that in the name of justice, great wrongs are being perpetrated on these helpless women. One girl had been there for four months and another for six months, without ever having been brought to trial. One of them swore that she was innocent of the crime of which she had been accused—and she said to us, "We girls certainly admire you suffragists and wish we were outside helping you fight for your cause, but for God's sake, make the judges hurry up."

Nothing is being done to improve these unfortunate creatues—drunkards, prostitutes and thieves. They are only sinking deeper and deeper into crime. I had not been in jail for more than a few hours when I felt the standards of a lifetime slipping away. I became dirty, untidy, and lost all sense of dignity.

Having served my sentence in jail, I am now in the glorious position of being able to tell other women it is their duty to go and do likewise. Wm. M. Evarts once said: "I pride myself on my success in doing not the things I like to do, but the things I don't like to do," and that is the way I feel about my term in jail. I hated to go. I dislike bad air, dirt and suffering, but certainly there is no more uncomfortable feeling than to realize that somebody else is doing your dirty work for you. And when I thought of the magnificent sacrifices made by Alice Paul, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, my sister, Mary Winsor, and those hosts of other fine women, I felt I could no longer retain my self-respect and remain out of jail. And after all, what are five or ten days of physical suffering and discomfort when one realizes that one is fighting for the emancipation of the women of the United States?

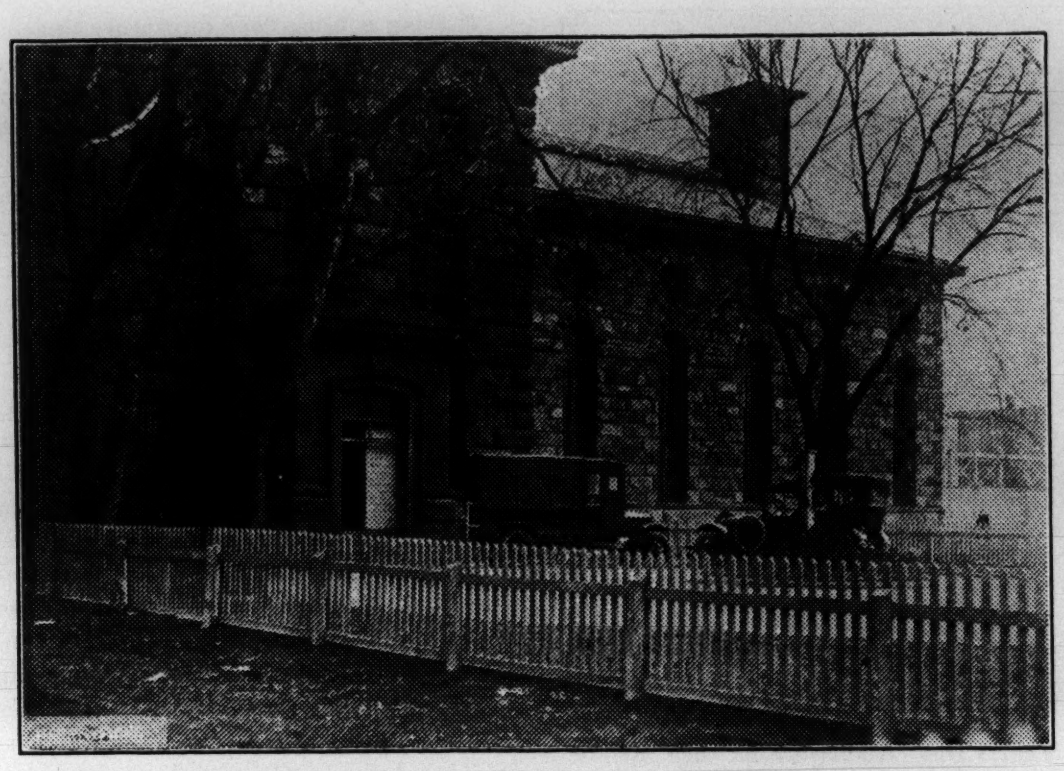
In one of his essays, Emerson writes: "Always do what you are afraid to do," so I took his advice and went to jail on a five day hunger-strike. I cannot urge too strongly on you women who have not yet taken part in these demonstrations to go now, at once. If you do not, you will regret it to the end of your life.

The National Woman's Party will keep on with this fight for democracy until democracy is won. Do your part in helping secure the victory!



**Home of Superintendent Zinkham of the District Jail**

# In the District Jail



The District of Columbia Jail to which American Women are sent for asking for Democracy

## An Impression of the Jail

By Mildred Morris

AS one of the wilful women who keep reminding our traveling President that democracy begins at home I have had the privilege of being jailed under government auspices. I found many things about the jail in which I was imprisoned with 21 other suffragists to arouse my appreciation of this.

In no jail in the country are affairs more economically managed. Wormy meats and other decayed foodstuffs are still purchased and made into savory stews. Not one worm is wasted.

In most penal institutions separate rooms are built for executions. This modern government jail has its gallows in the mens' dining room, thus wasting no space. The sight of the gay death machine adds zest to appetites grown jaded from overindulgence in wormy stews. Executions are not held at mealtimes. There is nothing frivolous about our government in its conduct as a jailer. It does not believe in providing entertainment for prisoners even as an aid to digestion.

This jail has windows but no fresh air is permitted to escape through them. The careful jail authorities are vigilant in guarding against the waste of fresh air on prisoners. Recently suffragists among the inmates demanded ventilation for the woman's quarters, where about 30 negro women and 25 white women were sleeping. The shocking women finally had their way. They were able to lower one window about six inches but the jail doctor hearing about this orgy of fresh air rushed in to protest.

"Really," he said in horrified tones, "not even I could stand so much air."

The jail has continued to use soap and water extravagantly since the time another shameless band of suffragists started Congress investigating. One now may clearly distinguish cockroaches and bedbugs as they crawl up and down the walls.

This government jail breeds some of the finest rats in the country. Gorgeously fat creatures! Being government rats they have the contempt of official Washington for the rights of the public and cause the night to be lively with shrieks from the women prisoners who have not the strength to fight them off.

## Letter to Judge McMahon

By Ellen Winsor of Pennsylvania

"SIR—When I looked you in the face on January 14, when you sentenced me to five days in the Washington jail, I wondered how a servant of the law could find it compatible with his conscience to send American women to prison for asking for freedom.

"After I entered the jail I marveled that you could sentence any human being to that pest-hole.

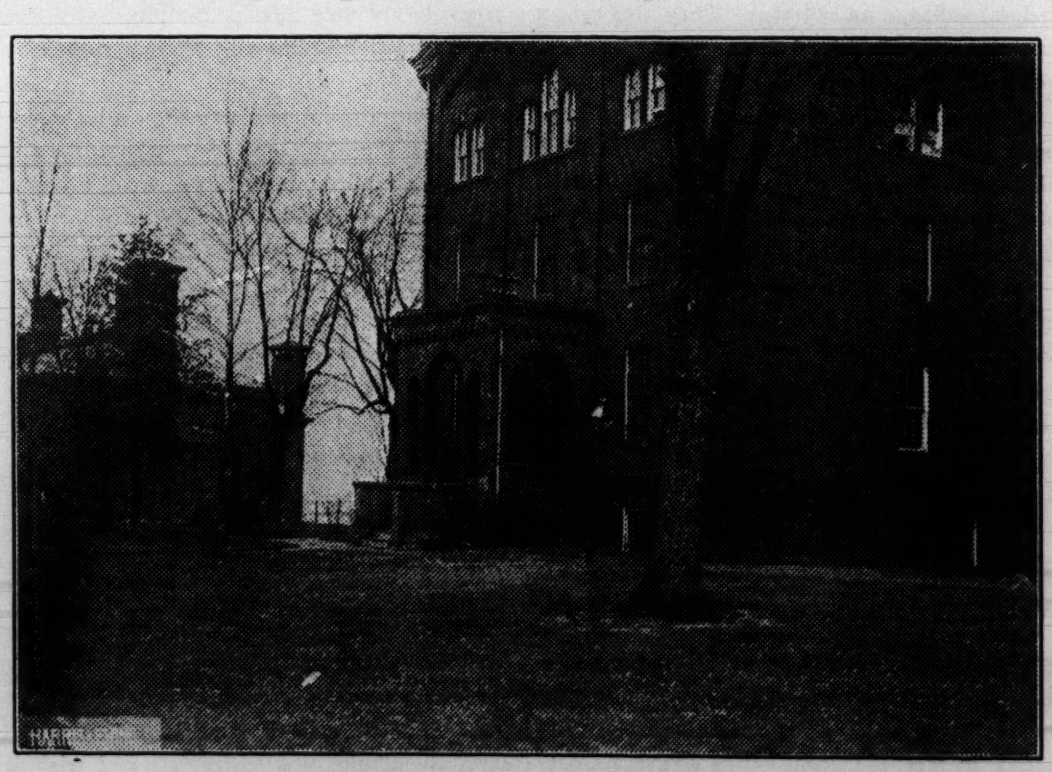
"I am one of the board of managers of one of the largest reformatories in the East, and my work with that institution has given me knowledge of how a prison should be managed.

"Do you know that the women's division of the jail is a hotbed for mental, moral and physical disease of all kinds?

"Do you know that the air is foul? that the prison is filthy? that the inmates are never taken out for exercise? that at night the whole place is alive with rats? that the women and girls, too, are allowed to smoke cigars and cigarettes? that the bedbugs are only equaled by the cockroaches, spiders and body lice?

"These evils are serious enough, but the worst feature is the utter lack of any educational work or training of any kind to fit the inmates for their return to life in the outside world. In fact, the effect is quite opposite. Those who enter that jail, no matter what their crime, must leave it with a lowered standard of health and morals.

"I thank you, however, for the sentence you gave me. It has opened my eyes wider to the injustice and the lack of responsibility of the courts; and, above all, it was my first victory for suffrage."



The Psycopathic Ward at the Jail

# The National Woman's Party and the President

## By Annie G. Porritt, Press Chairman, Connecticut Branch, National Woman's Party

*(Reprinted from Hartford, Conn. Post, December 31, 1918)*

AGAIN and again and again the women who speak for the National Woman's Party are asked to explain why they should oppose the President and even burn his words when he has spoken so eloquently for them before the Senate and again in his message to Congress before he left for Europe. These demands for explanation range all the way from a puzzled curiosity to denunciation of the suffragists as the most ungrateful creatures on earth. The National Woman's Party is sometimes reproached as though it were disloyal to the country, when in fact there are no more loyal citizens than the women who prize their country's liberties so highly that they are willing to fight for a share in them.

Neither has President Wilson any truer friends than the women of the National Woman's Party. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful," and the wounds inflicted by the National Woman's Party are faithful wounds—wounds of healing, intended to cut out the ulcer that is eating into the life of the government as long as its pretensions are not carried out in reality. It is the National Woman's Party that has gradually converted the fine and glowing phrases of President Wilson into a nearer and nearer approximation to the truth, and now the Party only seeks to finish this world of conversion and to make President Wilson 100 per cent Democrat. The alloy in his democratic convictions when he began his first term was fully 50 per cent. He himself said when first approached on the subject of woman suffrage that he had not given any thought to it. He had rested fully content with democracy for men only, and was even unconscious that his own words rang false until his attention was called to them and riveted on them by the constant work of the National Woman's Party.

"But," say our opponents, or those who doubt the wisdom of our tactics, "that time is past. The President is now with you. Why do you still pursue him and why do you affect to doubt his words?"

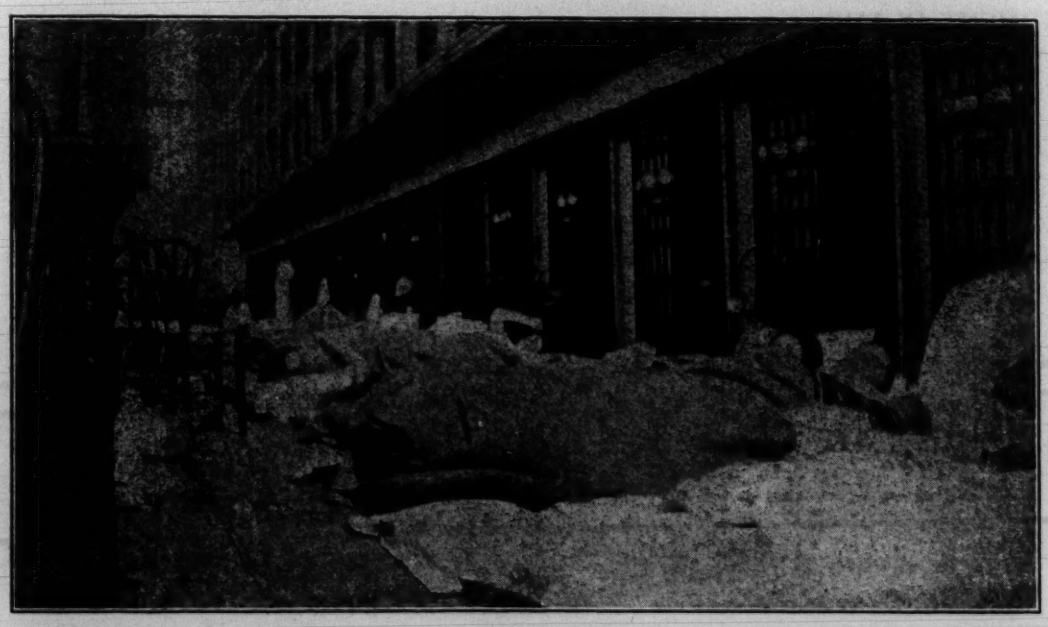
The answer is best given by carrying the question into the enemy's camp. Suppose it was a case of an important question urged by men, and suppose that one of the political parties had nominally espoused this cause, and that the leader and President had come out openly and eloquently for it, would the men who were interested in it be content with the amount that the President has done for the women?

Let us say that the question is protection, and that a Republican President had given his blessing to a project for a higher tariff to protect the industries of this country and had then gone away without giving the lead to his party really to get busy and pass the necessary legislation. The manufacturers and the men who wanted protection for their products would certainly be far from content. They would call upon their representatives in the House of Representatives and in the Senate to get to work and draw up a tariff bill they wanted. They would insist that the party, as a party, put its shoulder to the wheel and get legislation through at once.

Luke-warm adherents of the protection movement might address them as luke-warm men suffragists so often address the women. They would ask them why they were so impatient. They would point to the progress that their propaganda was making in the country. They would bid them get adherents in both political parties and convince the men in the Senate and the House that their cause was just. Then, they would tell the manufacturers, "as soon as you have converted the majority of the men to a belief in protection, you will get your tariff act through Congress."

"Of course," they might add "you may have to wait 50 years or so. But what does that matter? You say that you have already been preaching protection for the last 60 years and now you want it in operation. But it does not do to be impatient. If you don't get the protection for yourselves your children or your grandchildren will probably enjoy it. Go on with your teaching and your preaching and be thankful that you can reckon so many great names among your friends."

Does anyone imagine that the gentlemen who had come to Congress to ask for tariff legislation would be content with such a reply? They would tell the men who dared to speak to them wtih such condescension (and stupidity) that theirs was a question for here and now, and not for some distant future. They would say that their mills were waiting for the necessary protection in order to run full speed and to make fortunes for themselves and prosperity for the country. They would say that they were not concerned about their sons and grandsons, that they wanted the legislation for themselves while they were alive. What good would it do them when they were dead to have the mills running full time and glorious profit accruing to the owners?



**Intertor of the District Jail—Suffragists Lying on Floor in front of their Cells in Order to get More Air**

## HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

*Drafted*
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.
*First Introduced*
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.
*Reported from Committee*
*In the Senate*
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
*In the House*
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
*Voted Upon*
*In the Senate*
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918. Yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
*In the House*
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

## THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein),* That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

## THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

*Introduced*
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.
*Referred*
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.
In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
*Reported in the Senate*
Favorably September 15, 1917.
*Reported in the House*
By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.
By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.
*Present Status*
*In the Senate*
on the calendar awaiting a vote
*In the House*
Passed January 10, 1918.


# The Suffragist

*Cartoonist,* Mrs. Nina E. Allender

*Subscriptions: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party*

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

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## The President's Latest Speech on Suffrage

PRESIDENT Wilson in a speech to the women war workers of France, replying to their demand that the enfranchisement of women be taken up by the peace conference, said he did not consider the subject one for the peace conference but rather a matter to be settled by each country according to its own views. He then emphasized his own support of the cause of the political freedom of women.

At the moment when President Wilson was telling the women of France of his personal interest in the enfranchisement of women, fourteen American women were lying in the District of Columbia jail, under the very shadow of the Capitol of their country, imprisoned by the Administration over which he is the all-powerful ruler, for daring to demand freedom at the gates of the White House. At the moment when he was expressing his adherence to the cause of self-government for women, the Senate of the United States, which is under the control of his Party, and which obeys his every real demand, was blocking the pathway of American women to the freedom to which he so loudly proclaims his devotion. The only reply of the President to the demand of his countrywomen that friendly acts back up his fair words for liberty, is the continued illegal arresting of those women who dare exercise a sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, to petition in a lawful way for liberty. This is President Wilson's service in the United States to the cause of freedom—the cause which he declares, in Europe, is so near his heart.

Deep in the heart of every liberty-loving woman, as she read this latest speech of the President on suffrage, must have been the desire to go to the doors of the White House with Mrs. Nolan, the oldest of the watchfire tenders, and, with her, cast into the flames these vain words of the President. In no clearer way can American women show to the President—show to the world, their attitude toward his repetitions, on the other side of the ocean, about the sacredness of the principles of self-government and liberty.


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# President Wilson Addresses French Women on Suffrage

PRESIDENT Wilson received a delegation representing the working women of France, Saturday, January 25, at the Murat Mansion in Paris. The delegation urged upon the President that the Peace Conference include woman suffrage among the points to be settled by the conference. President Wilson replied as follows:

"MLLE. Thomson and ladies: You have not only done me a great honor, but you have touched me very much by this unexpected tribute; and may I add that you have frightened me, because, realizing the great confidence you place in me, I am led to the question of my own ability to justify that confidence?

"You have not placed your confidence wrongly in my hopes and purposes, but perhaps not all of those hopes and purposes can be realized in the great matter that you have so much at heart—the right of women to take their full share in the political life of the nations to which they belong. That is necessarily a domestic question for the several nations. A conference of peace settling the relations of nations with each other would be regarded as going very much outside its province if it undertook to dictate to the several states what their internal policy should be.

"At the same time these considerations apply also to the conditions of labor; and it does not seem to be unlikely that the conference will take some action by way of expressing its sentiments, at any rate with regard to the international aspects at least of labor, and I should hope that some occasion might be offered for the case not only of the women of France, but of their sisters all over the world, to be presented to the consideration of the conference.

"THE conference is turning out to be a rather unwieldy body, a very large body representing a great many nations, large and small, old and new; and the method of organizing its work successfully, I am afraid, will have to be worked out stage by stage. Therefore I have no confident prediction to make as to the way in which it can take up the questions of this sort.

"But what I have most at heart today is to avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration for the women of France and my admiration for the women of all the nations that have been engaged in the war. By the fortunes of this war the chief burden has fallen upon the women of France, and they have borne it with a spirit and a devotion which has commanded the admiration of the world.

"I do not think that the people of France fully realize, perhaps, the intensity of the sympathy that other nations have felt for them. They think of us in America, for example, as a long way off. And we are in space but we are not in thought. You must remember that the United States is made up of the nations of Europe; that French sympathies run straight across the seas, not merely by historic association but by blood connection, and that these nerves of sympathy are quick to transmit the impulses of one nation to the other.

"We have followed your sufferings with a feeling that we were witnessing one of the most heroic and, may I add, at the same time satisfactory things in the world—satisfactory because it showed the strength of the human spirit, the indomitable power of women and men alike to sustain any burden if the cause was great enough.

"In an ordinary war there might have been some shrinking, some sinking of effort; but this was not an ordinary war. This was a war not only to redeem France from an enemy, but to redeem the world from an enemy. And France, therefore, and the women of France strained their hearts to sustain the world. I hope that the strain has not been in vain. I know that it has not been in vain.

"This war has been popular and unlike other wars in that it seemed sometimes as if the chief strain was behind the lines and not at the lines. It took so many men to conduct the war that the older men and the women at home had to carry the nation. Not only so, but the industries of the nation were almost as much a part of the fighting as the things that took place at the fronts.

"So it is for that reason that I have said to those with whom I am at present associated that this must be a people's peace, because this was a people's war. The people won this war, not the governments, and the people must reap the benefits of the war. At every turn we must see to it that it is not an adjustment between governments merely, but an agreement for the peace and security of men and women everywhere.

"The little, obscure sufferings and the daily unknown privations, the unspoken sufferings of the heart, are the tragical things of this war. They have been borne at home, and the center of the home is the woman. My heart goes out to you, therefore, ladies, in a very unusual degree, and I welcome this opportunity to bring you this message, not from myself merely, but from the great people whom I represent."

American Women Arrested At the White House for Demanding Self Government

While President Wilson Talks About Self Government in Europe

# The Prison Special

A TOUR of the country by a "Prison Special" during the month of February will carry to the people in yet another way the story of the Administration's refusal to act on the suffrage amendment. The neglect of suffrage at home while the President demands democracy in Europe, and the toleration by the Administration of the lawless imprisonment of women asking for enfranchisement will be proclaimed across the nation by women who have served jail sentences for suffrage since June, 1917.

The tour will endeavor to acquaint the country with the lawless and brutal lengths to which the Administration has gone to suppress the lawful agitation for suffrage—the women who will speak are all women who have been declared, by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, to have been illegally arrested and imprisoned by the Administration.

Among the women who will make the trip are Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, of Washington, D. C., political chairman of the Woman's Party; and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, national finance chairman; Miss Mary Ingham, Pennsylvania Chairman; Miss Vida Milholland, New York member of the National Advisory Council; Miss Lavinia Dock, secretary of the International Council of Nurses; Mrs. Robert Walker, vice chairman of the Maryland branch; Mrs. F. W. Kendall, of Hamburg, New York, Congressional District Chairman of the New York branch; Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Chairman of the Minnesota branch; Mrs. John Rogers, chairman of the National Advisory Council; Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pennsylvania; and Miss Elizabeth McShane, of Philadelphia. All of these women have been unlawfully imprisoned for their participation in protests at the White House against the Administration's neglect of the suffrage amendment.

The itinerary of "The Prison Special," which has been prepared by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, is as follows:

Leave Washington, D. C., Sunday, Feb. 9, A. C. L., No. 85, at 2:30 p. m.; arrive Charleston, S. C., Monday, Feb. 10, at 6:55 a. m.

Leave Charleston, Monday, Feb. 10, A. C. L., No. 89, at 11:40 p. m.; arrive Jacksonville, Fla., Tuesday, Feb. 11, 8:30 a. m.

Leave Jacksonville, Wednesday, Feb. 12, So. Ry., No. 12-42, 6:00 p. m.; arrive Chattanooga, Tenn., Thursday, Feb. 13, 9:25 a. m.

Leave Chattanooga, Friday, Feb. 14, So. Ry., No. 41-1, 6:25 p. m.; arrive New Orleans, La., Saturday, Feb. 15, 11:50 a. m.

Leave New Orleans, Sunday, Feb. 16, S. P. Ry., No. 101, 7:00 p. m.; arrive San Antonio, Tex., Monday, Feb. 17, 1:05 p. m.

Leave San Antonio, Tuesday, Feb. 18, S. P. Ry., No. 101, 1:20 p. m.; arrive Los Angeles, Cal., Thursday, Feb. 20, 7:30 a. m.

Leave Los Angeles, Thursday, Feb. 20, S. P. Ry., No. 75, 8:00 p. m.; arrive San Francisco, Friday, Feb. 21, 10:15 a. m.

Leave San Francisco, Saturday, Feb. 22, S. P. Ry., No. 20-U. P. No. 22, 1:00 p. m.; arrive Denver, Colo., Monday, Feb. 24, 12:25 p. m.

Leave Denver, Tuesday, Feb. 25, U. P. No. 12-4, C. & N. W., No. 12, 1:30 p. m.; arrive Chicago, Ill., Wednesday, Feb. 26, 10:30 p. m.

Leave Chicago, Thursday, Feb. 27, C. M. & St. P., No. —, 9:30 a. m.; arrive Milwaukee, Wis., Thursday, Feb. 27, 11:40 a. m.

Leave Milwaukee, Thursday, Feb. 27, C. M. & St. P., No. —, 4:10 p. m.; arrive Chicago, Thursday, Feb. 27, 6:10 p. m.

Leave Chicago, Friday, Feb. 28, Mich. Cent., No. 36, 12:05 a. m.; arrive Detroit, Mich., Friday, Feb. 28, 8:00 a. m.

Leave Detroit, Friday, Feb. 28, Mich. Cent., No. 14, N. Y. C. No. 58, 10:45 p. m.; arrive Syracuse, N. Y., Saturday, March 1, 10:55 a. m.

Leave Syracuse, Sunday, March 2, N. Y. C., No. 10, 5:05 a. m.; arrive Boston, Mass., Sunday, March 2, 2:55 p. m.

Leave Boston, Monday, March 3, N. Y., N H. & H., 7:46 a. m.; arrive Hartford, Conn., Monday, March 3, 11:05 a. m.

Leave Hartford, Monday, March 3, N. Y. N. H. & H., 3:12 p. m.; arrive New York, N. Y., Monday, March 3, 6:07 p. m.

Leave New York, Monday, March 3, Midnight; arrive Washington, D. C., Tuesday, March 4, 7:00 a. m.

# More Leglislatures Urge Senate to Act

SOME light regarding the country's temper over the delay in passing the federal suffrage amendment, which at present lacks one vote in the Senate, is gained from the fact that the legislatures of fourteen states have this month by resolutions called upon the Senate to pass the measure immediately.

The states which have taken this action are Indiana, Calfornia, Nebraska, Minnesota, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, South Dakota, Wisconsin, New York, Kansas, Texas, Montana, and Michigan. In Idaho, Nevada and Oregon such resolutions have already passed one House, and been sent to the other where they are awaiting a vote.

The action of the Nebraska legislature which adopted such a resolution without a single dissenting vote and called upon its own Senators to vote for the amendment is particularly significant, for Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, so far has failed to support the national suffrage amendment.

The Idaho House of Representatives has this week passed a resolution calling upon all Senators who were formerly opposed to the suffrage amendment to vote for it in the future. The New York legislature in its resolution specifically calls upon its Senators to vote for the amendment. Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator Wadsworth, of New York, who voted against the suffrage amendment in the Senate in October, are thus formally called upon by their states to change their vote on this measure.

In Florida a majority of the members of the legislature have signed a petition asking for the passage of the resolution by the Senate and asking their Senators to vote for it. In New Hampshire a majority of the members of the legislature have signed a similar petition and a majority of the members of the legislature have voted for a resolution to the same effect. The resolution did not, however, secure a majority of the votes in the Senate, owing to the fact that a few men who had signed the petition and were for the resolution were unwilling to vote to instruct their senators.

# The Storehouse of American Liberty

## By Katherine Fisher

THE guide on the sight-seeing car put his megaphone to his lips. "The Capitol," he announced, "the store-house of American liberty!" The aptness of his words struck me.

The newspaper in my lap carried dispatches of German women voting in national elections the day before. And the United States Senate, under Democratic control, still refuses to pass the suffrage amendment! In the Capitol liberty is indeed "stored." There is even beneath the Senate-chamber, a strong-room, called the guard-room, in which any liberty which may venture near the Capitol is locked up.

As the guide points out the Senate Office Building, I show my out-of-town companion the spot on its steps where with six other women I was arrested and locked in this guard-room, not long ago, for merely displaying a banner which has come to be recognized in Washington as the symbol of a demand for woman's political liberty and for democracy. I tell him how the United States Capitol Police who made the arrest had knocked down two of my companions. Policeman No. 21, foul-mouthed, half-intoxicated, had seized me, shaken me as a dog might shake a rabbit, jerked me through the same revolving door by which Senators enter the Capitol, and angrily pushed me into this innermost stronghold of American liberty, the Senate Guard-room.

As I tell the story of that evening, the car rolls around the Capitol on to Pennsylvania Avenue.

"To the right," says the megaphone man, "is the old Capitol Hotel, once a slave-market. In the cellar is the pen where slaves who were to be sold in the morning were kept overnight."

I wonder if the guard-room where suffragists are held will ever be a historic spot, worthy of such notice as the slave-pen. Probably not. The slave-pen would no doubt be ignored today if it had been in the Capitol itself. The guide proclaimed, "Ford's Theatre, where Lincoln was assassinated." A half-minute later, I call my friend's attention to the court-house where over 300 jail or work-house sentences have been pronounced on suffragists, and to the back-way through which they are driven in "black Marias," with suffrage colors thrust through the bars, to the District of Columbia jail. Today when suffragists are still in jail the court-house is not "historic."

At the White House, the guide is chiefly concerned with the architectural changes made in Roosevelt's administration. But "the social entrance" as he calls it, is to me the portal from which three hundred disappointed women streamed on January 10, 1918. The hopes they had carried in had just been killed by President Wilson's smoothly-worded declaration that they must concert public opinion for the suffrage amendment before he could lift a finger in its behalf; concert the public opinion of America for democracy. Every post and picket of the iron fence seems to quiver with the remembered brightness of banners held along its length in bitter cold, in over-powering summer sultriness, in soaking rain, while by picketing the White House for the next ten months we "concerted public opinion."

The gate before the President's office, which the guide calls "the business entrance," brings to mind the group of women voters against whom it was barred on March 4, 1917, while hundreds of their comrades filed by in a driving storm as a protest against the ending of the Sixty-fourth Congress and the first administration without an end of the Democratic Party's blockade against the suffrage amendment.

The megaphone is heard again; "In the building which formerly stood on this site, the attempt was made to assassinate Sumner. On the corner beyond is the home of Dolly Madison."

"And between them," I interpolate, "is the former home of the National Woman's Party. There is the balcony up which a mob once swarmed to insult and attack suffragists. Through that bay-window a bullet was fired from the street, just missing the heads of women in the room; and not one of the police standing by, apparently under orders not to protect the home of women asking for freedom, so much as turned his head to see who fired the bullet."

As we pass "the monument erected to the memory of the great Lafayette, who fought to establish American liberty," I tell how the actual descendents of Lafayette's comrades in arms have lately been imprisoned for the crime of demanding from the base of that statue that America practice the principles for which Lafayette fought.

Some day the megaphone-man will take the words from my mouth. It has been prophesied by an eminent Southern jurist that a monument to the suffrage pickets will yet face the White House. One imagines the megaphone-man pointing out and indicating the place across the street where anti-suffragist rowdies, secure in the tacit support given by the government's attitude, knocked Alice Paul down, dragged her over the pavement, "in the year 1917."

LATE in the afternoon I pass the White House again. On the side-walk policemen are scattering and trampling the embers of a suffrage watch-fire. Fine words lately spoken by President Wilson in England, France and Italy about "liberty," "freedom" and "justice," are ashes blowing about in front of his vacant house. The six women who burned them are under arrest and will be sent to jail tomorrow. One of them was born in Sweden. If she had stayed in old Europe she would have all the rights of a citizen today. In the United States she belongs to a subject class.

She has brought birch and pine from our northern forests and in their blaze has burned official American talk about democracy to show her wrath and shame at being kept waiting in so-called "free America" for the real freedom her women relatives in Europe enjoy.

A man who has watched the women's deed and their arrest exclaimed, "By Gad! it's a shame! Why doesn't the Senate pass that amendment and end this?"

Why doesn't it? Scandinavian women have been able to obtain their political rights by peaceful means. British women found it necessary to supplement these by violent agitation, including the destruction of property. German women have come into their rights as a consequence of revolution. What is our government waiting for? What do they want American women to do? Burtn more than words? Must the "store-house of American liberty" be blown up to make them act? Stored liberty does sometimes become explosive.

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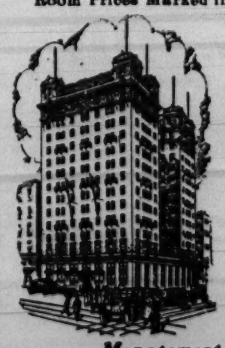
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# Comments of the Press

## The Next Step

THE ratification of the national prohibition amendment will doubtless put new heart into those who are fighting for equal suffrage through amendment of the federal constitution. It should. There is not arrayed against the amendment they desire such an entrenched and unscrupulous foe as fought against destruction of the liquor business. If they persist, sooner or later they will triumph as have the advocates of national prohibition. If the submission be made while the Democratic Party has the President and control of both houses of Congress, the Democratic Party will be strengthened by the gratitude of the women who have been fighting for national enfranchisement, as they will feel they owe success to the Democratic Party. Some of our mossbacks cannot see that fact and will hold back to the end. They cannot prevent national equal suffrage but they can delay it and the Republicans are not losing any sleep over the prospect of its being delayed until after March 4, when they will control both branches of Congress and will be in position to claim credit for the passage of the amendment. The Republican national executive committee has declared in favor of the amendment and will bring pressure to bear when its party can get the credit.—The Piedmont, Greenville, S. C., January 18, 1919.

## Votes for Women

IN spite of everything the women have the sympathy of the people because justice demands they be accorded the ballot. The scene in front of the White House is merely a form of protest and a means the women make use of to keep the fires of their claims burning. In every movement agitation is necessary and this being true the advocates of votes for women seize upon the burning of the President's speeches only to keep alive the subject in which they are deeply interested.

The day is past when woman can be barred from a voice in the affairs of government. They have demonstrated in every way their ability to deal with the nation's problems on an equality with the men and we firmly believe if the matter was put to a vote of the men in the United States the women would be given the ballot immediately.

We hope the question will be voted on in the Senate soon and when it is we believe the women will win.—Charleston American.

## The Senate's Opportunity

HAVING disposed of the federal prohibition amendment satisfactorily, the next task for the United States Senate to tackle with a similar good will is the federal suffrage amendment, which, quite as much as prohibition, is in the best interests of the nation. In fact, if women are given the vote it is an added insurance that prohibition will not only be retained permanently, but will be rigorously enforced. The one is a natural concomitant of the other. Whether or not the suffrage amendment will reach a vote in the Senate at this session is doubtful. Two votes were lacking at the previous test of strength, but with the election of Senator Pollock, of South Carolina, said to be in favor of the measure, there is a fighting chance of Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, adding the deciding vote. He is on record as stating that if a majority of the legislature of his state approved the amendment he would support it. The lower house gave it a surplus of seventy-five; the upper house negatived it by seven, leaving a net majority of sixty-eight. If he regards that as binding, there is hope yet for the passage of the amendment at this session. Much as we dislike the demonstrations at Washington by the militant suffragists, there is a measure of excuse for their conduct and the reactionaries of the United States Senate are to blame for whatever happens. The antis have sought to make capital out of the fact that "soldiers" of the United States army were among the baiters of the "watch fire" tenders and egged on the small boys to annoy the vestals. Investigation discloses that the soldiers were of the stay-at-home quartermaster clerk-soldiers variety and not the real kind. We have faith that no soldier who had risked his life to make democracy safe for the world would be found hissing the attempt at home to give the nation a purer democracy. The Democratic recalcitrants in the Senate must be held responsible by the people for any political upheaval that ensues because of their refusal to heed the appeal of President Wilson. Senators Martin and Swanson are playing a dangerous game, politically.—Richmond, Virginia.

## Whom Does Borah Represent?

THE Tribune has never been an advocate of the national federal amendment because it has taken the position that all matters of suffrage should be settled by the states. This has been good Southern doctrine for years, and therefore good Democratic doctrine; but the converse of it being a good Republican doctrine we are somewhat disgusted at the practice of certain Republican senators in dodging the question on various flimsy grounds.

Among the men who give us a pang of disgust we might mention Senator Borah of Idaho. The senator is from an equal suffrage state, and is a Republican who should believe that the federal amendment is the only way to handle these things. Yet we have the spectacle of Senator Borah declaring he represents "the women of the South," and refusing to give his vote to the Anthony amendment.

If we recall correctly Senator Borah has during this fight given at least three pledges that he would come out for the federal amendment, and each time he had an opportunity he balked. The senator is a big man in the West, and his constituents perhaps know of his attitude on this matter, but while the suffragists are working so hard to convert a Democratic senator to their way of thinking, we have conceived the idea that Senator Borah's position is not so strong that he cannot be shelled out by a little judicious publicity in certain sections of the West, nor is he so invulnerable that attack on his record as a stand-patter to his own pledges would not at least prick the skin of even his hardened front.

We sometimes have wondered anyhow whom does Borah represent, for his attitude in this matter would lead us to believe that while elected by Republican Idaho he is trying to run with Democratic Virginia or North Carolina in the matter of the federal suffrage amendment.—Tampa Tribune, Tampa, Fla., Jan. 10, 1919.

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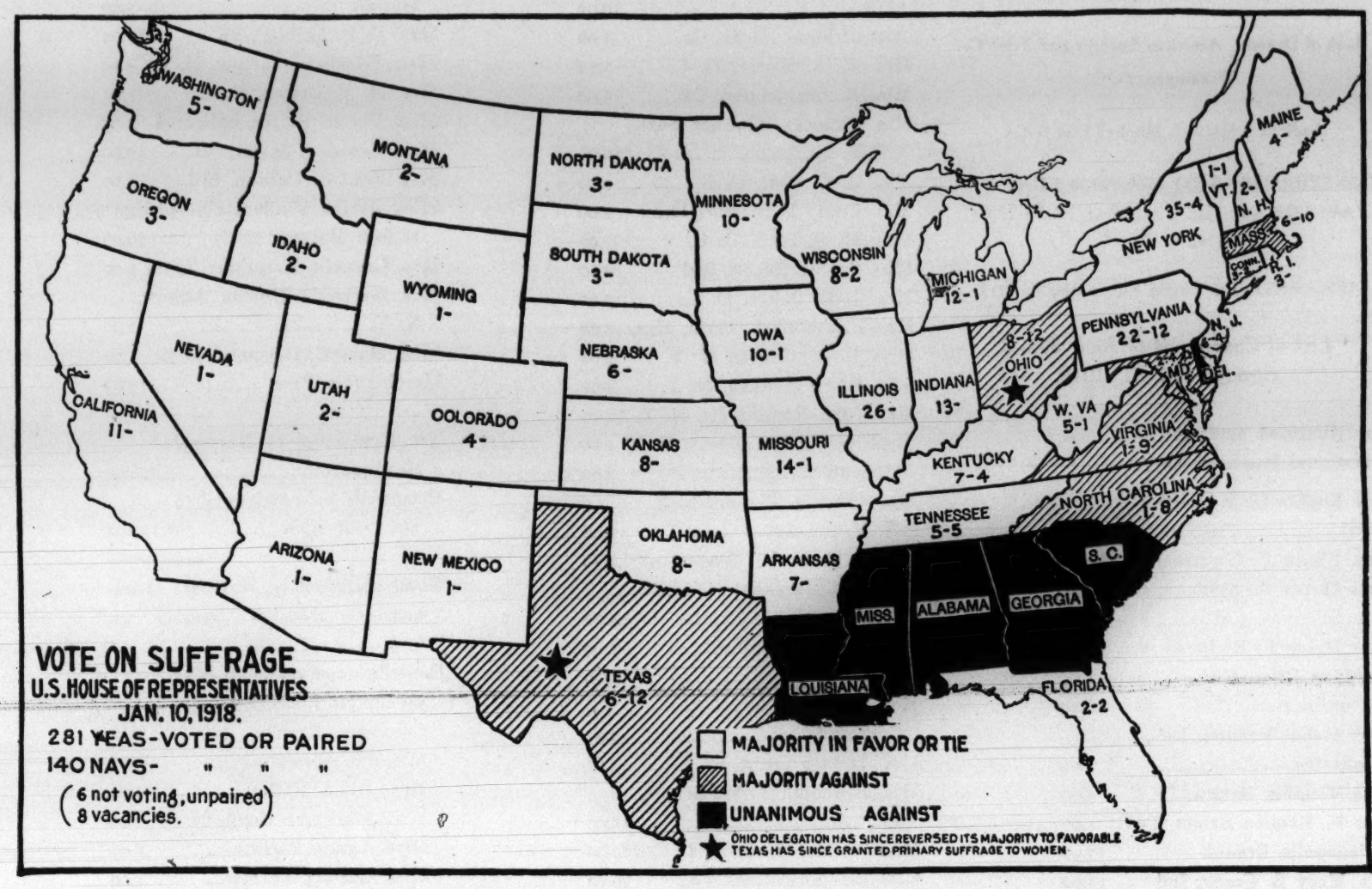


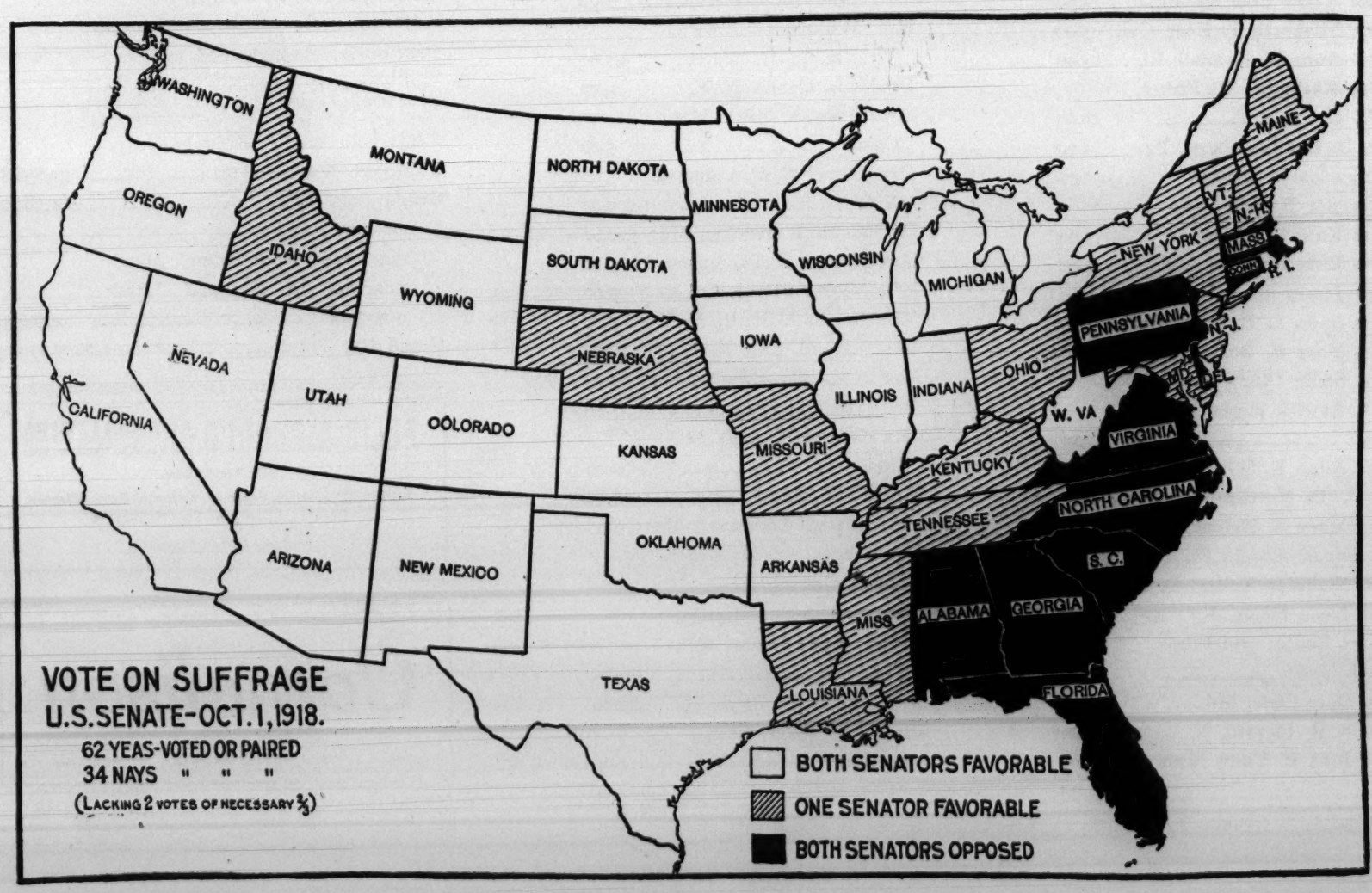

# Interpretation of the Suffrage Maps

**Prepared by Lobby Department**

A preponderance of suffrage sentiment throughout the country is shown in the two votes taken in Congress on this question during the year 1918; in the House of Representatives on January 10, and in the Senate on October 1.

## Comparison of House and Senate

A comparison of the two maps shows the stronger sentiment for suffrage to be in the House, which is the stronger indication of the sentiment for suffrage in the country. The House is in closer touch with the people than is the Senate since it goes to the people more often for re-election and since a member of the House has far fewer people to keep in touch with than has a Senator.

In this connection, note especially the North Atlantic States, only one of which in the House of Representatives cast a majority against the amendment, while in the Senate in these same states with the exception of Rhode Island, one or both Senators is opposed. In other words, in ten North Atlantic States 71 per cent of the members of the House voted for the suffrage amendment while only 35 per cent of the Senators voted in favor.

In the West, also, one notes the greater suffrage sentiment of the House. In all that portion of the West which lies beyond the Mississipi, only two members voted against the amendment in the House, (one has since passed away) while three votes were cast against it in the Senate. The black marks which indicate these three votes in Missouri, Nebraska and Idaho, represent respectively Senators Reed, Hitchcock and Borah. In the eighteen Western states beyond the Mississippi the vote in favor of the amendment was 98 per cent in the House and 92 per cent in the Senate.

This distinction between House and Senate does not always hold in the South with its one party states, the Senate in this section of the country being, in three instances, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, more favorable to suffrage than was the House. With Texas, however, it is to be noted that shortly after the vote was taken in the House, and before it was taken in the Senate, Texas granted primary suffrage to women.

## Suffrage Sentiment Widespread

BOTH maps show the suffrage sentiment to be widespread, and the opposition concentrated. In the House 33 states cast a majority for the amendment, 23 of them being unanimous. In addition, three other states were tie. While on the House map, a chain of white stats reaches unbroken all the way from Maine to California 90 of the 140 negative votes that darken the map are from the South. With the exception of nine Southern states, the only two state delegations which gave a majority against suffrage were Massachusetts and Ohio. That is—of the 37 state delegations (entire country exclusive of above mentioned 11 states) only 30 members out of 308 voted against the suffrage amendment.

(Since this vote was taken in the House, the Ohio delegation has reversed its majority from opposed to favorable, while in the next Congress 8 of the opponents will be succeeded by new men.)

On the map of the Senate, 24 white states mark a unanimous vote for the suffrage amendment, while 14 gray states mark a tie vote. In the Senate, the opposition centers in a fringe of states along the Atlantic and Gulf—in New England, the "crade of liberty," and in the South, the "home of chivalry."


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